1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

311 578 achieved by the relatively unlimited possibilities of *chinampa* agriculture.

729 ●728 471 The Tenochcas supplemented their land hunger by another means. In conquered territories successful warriors received grants of land which were worked by members of the defeated tribe. Small colonies sometimes lived off this [428] land to guard against revolt in the subjugated area. Such property passed from father to son, but if there were no heir it reverted to the tribal authority, not the clan in which the tenant had membership. Other such land must have been held for the benefit of the religious organization. Thus the central authority of Tenochtitlan, and presumably Texcoco as well, held considerable property to support the elaborate pomp of Church and State without straining the resources of the tribesmen. The relative fluidity of such real estate gave the tribal authority a wherewithal to adjust inequalities and dissatisfactions among the more ambitious tribal members. Naturally, as the Aztec peoples were less highly developed socially than ourselves, they did not attain our own elaborate system of rewards and adjustments by means of federal, state and municipal appointments.*

651 A powerful Aztec tribe had another source of support: tribute. The levies often consisted of foodstuffs and raw materials, both native and foreign to the Valley, and also included warriors' and priests' costumes, mantles, pottery and other articles of craftsmanship. Distributed throughout the community these goods enriched both communal enterprise and private convenience.* (See Plates 62, bottom right; 64.)

436 438 32 Manufacture and trade were beginning to play an important part in Aztec economy, although not to the extent of societies which have developed media of exchange, like

And when they already were to rise against the city to destroy it, first one awaited remotely the moment when fire flared up—when the priests brought forth [new] fire—and for the blowing of shell trumpets, when the priests blew them.

And when the fire flared up, then as one arose all the warriors. War cries were raised; there was fighting. They shot fiery arrows into the temples.

And when they first took a captive, one fated to die, forthwith they slew him there before the gods; they slashed his breast open with a flint knife.

And when the city had been overcome, thereupon were counted as many captives as there were, and as many Mexicans and Tlatilulcans as had died. Then they apprised the ruler that they had been orphaned for the sake of Uitzilopochtli; that men had been taken captive and been slain. And the ruler then commanded the high judges to go to tell and inform all in the homes of those who had gone to die in war, that there might be weeping in the homes of those who had gone to war to die. And they informed those in the homes of as many as had gone to take captives in war that they had received honors there because of their valor. And they were rewarded according to their merits; the ruler accorded favors to all—costly capes, breech clouts, chocolate, food, and devices, and lip rods and ear plugs. Even more did the ruler accord favors to the princes if they had taken captives. He gave them the offices of stewards, and all wealth without price—honor, fame, renown.

And if some had done wrong in battle, they then and there slew them on the battlefield; they beat them, they stoned them.

And if several claimed one captive, and one man said, "He is my captive," and another man also said, "He is my captive": if no man verified it, and also if no one saw how they had taken the captive, the lord of the sun decided between them. If neither had an advantage of the two who claimed the captive, then those who had taken four captives, the masters of the captives, decided that to neither one would the captive belong. He was dedicated to the Uitzitzilo[1] [or] they left him to the tribal temple, the house of the devil.

And when the city which they had destroyed was attained, at once was set the tribute, the impost. [To the ruler who had conquered them] they gave that

panja: injc tlequamiltlaça tlamaceuiqueʒ: iuã in tlaçiteʒ 726
alli in teuxiuitl, in oquiçiteʒque tlamaceuiqueʒ:

iuan in ocuepon tlel, njman ic ommoa, in jaquich
iaxquiuiqui, motemquauja, mjcali, quiqualmjna in
teucalli.

Auh in ixhen in caçi malli in maliacatl, çan njman
vncan, imixpan quimjctia, in tetra, tecpatica quehe-
tequi.

Auh in jcuac ompolihuh ahuiqui, njmã ie ic nomal- 727
pealo, in quexquich malli: iuan in quexquich omjc
mexicat, in tlatilolcat, njman mochi quicauquja in
tlatoani, injc tepal oicnopilti: vitzilobuchtli injc
otlamalec, iuan omjcnac: auh in tlatoani njman
quimnaoatia, in teuitlatequi: injc quitemachtitiuj,
injc quitecaquiititiuj, in jxchan in jaquizti, oiaumj-
quito, injc choquilikuequi in jxchachan, in oiaumj-
quito: iuan quitecaquitia in jxchan, in quexquj
otlamato iuuc, ic vncan quicuja in mauiztil, in
ipampa oquichiol: iuan quimomaceuiaia in jaquich
itictelilaia in tlatoani, in tlaçotilmatli, in maxtlatl,
in atl, tlaqualli, iuan tlaujztli, iuan tepacatl, nacochtli:
oc cenca quimjctelilaia in tlaçopiltli, in tlatoani intla
otlamato, quimaca calpixcatzli: iuan in jaquich tla-
çotli necuiltonolli, in mauiztil, in tleitl, in teuatl. [555]

Auh intla acame quitlacoa iuuiui, njman vmpa 687
quimjctia in iuuc quiouiztequj, quiuetequchoa.

Auh intla acame, quimocuiçuilia ce malli, quitoa 727
ce tlacatl, ca nomal, in oc ce tlacatl no quitoa ca
nomal: intlacame ce tlacatl iecti nelti, aiac no quim-
jttac, in quenin tlamaque: ichcantin quiotlatzontec-
quilia, in tonatiuh itlaccahoan: aiac ce onquiça in
jmamextin in quimocuiçuilia in malli: inh quiçon-
tequj, in quauhtlaque, in malloque, aiac ce iecti
penhuj ica in malli: vitzcalli quipoaia, calpulco
quicauia, in jchan tlacatecolotl.

Auh in jcuac oninoc ahcpiel in ompolihuh, njman 728 ●
iuuc motlalia, in tequitl, in tlacalaquilli iecti mana 651
in tlein vmpa mochiua, inh njman no iquac inque-

1. Cf. ibid., pp. 301-302, referring to the furies of Cuauhtli, whose drawn thoughts and deed in sacrifice: "Hizo con su el gusto del sacrificio que se dell Uitzilobu."

728 651 which was there made. And likewise, forthwith a steward was placed in office, who would watch over and levy the tribute.

SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is described how they chose judges.

643 693 565 The ruler watched especially over the trials; he heard all the accusations and the complaints, the afflictions, and the misery of the common folk, the orphans, the poor, and the vassals.

And in order that the ruler might verify one's accusations and guilt, there were placed in office, and [the ruler] chose, as his judges,[1] the princes, those who were endowed with the necessities of life, those provided with drink and food—the rich; and the brave warriors and men [at arms], who had been reared in war and had gloried in all kinds of suffering and misery. In all things had their upbringing, their rearing, been sound. In their infancy they had been taught [according to] the upbringing in the priests' house, or the rearing by the masters of the youths, growing up with others, living in the [same] houses as others, engaging in war, taking captives.

And likewise the ruler thus chose and placed in office judges of the Mexicans who were not noblemen—those of sound and righteous upbringing, who had been reared in war: brave warriors and men [at arms] who in many ways had won glory by the favor of the ruler. By his grace they drank and ate. He gave them contentment and he gave them gifts; he bestowed upon them whatsoever they needed.

[577] Such as these the ruler gave office and chose as his judges—the wise, the able, the sage; who listened and spoke well; who were of good memory; who spoke not vainly nor lightly; who did not make friends without forethought nor were drunkards; who guarded their lineage with honor; who slept not overmuch, [but rather] arose early; who did nothing for friendship's or kinship's sake, nor for enmity; who would not hear nor judge a case for a fee. The ruler might condemn them to death; [681] hence they performed their offices as judges righteously. For otherwise, these judges could find excuse for the wrongs which they might do.

And when the ruler placed his judges in office, he gave them two court rooms, the Teccalli, where they

INIC VME PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn quinpepenaia luezes.

In tlatoanj oc cenca quimocuitlaujaia in tetlamantequjlilijztli, quicaquja in jxquich in jnetelhujl: ioan in ichoquja, in jnentlamachilja in jnetolinjlja in cujtlapilli, atlapalli in jcnotlacatl, in motolinja in maçcoalli:

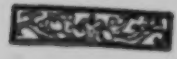
auh inic uel quinelchiliaia in tlatoanj in tenetelhujl anoço tetlatlacul quimjxquetzaia, quinpepenaia in jtecutlatocahoan: ichoantin in tlaçopipilti, in tlaiecultilo in oncā in quinj, in quiquanj, in mocujltonoa, ioan tiacaoan, oquichti, in iauc omoncaltique, mjiec tlamātli tecoco netolinjlizdi, oquimaujçoque: auh in jxquj tlamantlj qualli neoxpaoaliztli, nezcaltiliztli, in jnpiltian oquimomachtique, in calmecac neoxpaoaliztli, in tiachcapa neoxpaoaliztli, in tetlan neoxpaoaliztli, in calpan tetlan neinjliztli, iauquiçaliztli, tlamaliztli.

Auh çan no iuhq͞i, inic quinpepenaia tlatoanj, inic quimjxquetzaia in tecutlatoque, in mexica, in amo pipilti ichoantin in qualli iectli, inneoxpaoalia, innezcaltiliz, in iauc omoxpaouhque, in tiacahoan in oquichti, in mjiec tlamantli oquimaujçoque, iteicneliliz tlatoanj, in jpal xeli, tlacha, in quinpaquiltia, in quintlaubtia, ioan in quimmaca, in jxquich intech monequj:

iuhque in in quimjxquetzaia, in quinpepenaia tlatoanj, in jtecutlatocahoan, in mjmatinj, in mozcalianj, in tlanemjlianj, in vellacaquj, in vellatoa, in motlaolliotianj, in amo ahaujllatoa, in amo cacamaxalca, in amo iliujx moocnjuhtia, amo tlaoananj, cenca quimaujxpia in tecuiod, amo cochinj, cenca cochiçanj amo tle quicnjubchioa: amo tle quioxiolcachioa: amo tle quitecocolicachioa, amo tlaxtlaujltica quicaqoj, anoço quitnonequj: quimjquixnoetitaia, in tlatoanj: inic mclaoac quichioaque in jntequjuh, in tecutlaolij: auh intlacamo, ca ichoantin conmotlacujlitiaque in tecutlatoque, in tlein quitlaclaque.

Auh in jcoac, oquimjxquetz in tlatoanj: in jtecutlatocahoan quinmacaia vuetl in tlatocacalli, in tec-

1. [illegible]: cf. ibid., p. 311 (for majeur jusez) and p. 321 (magistrats).



Twelfth Chapter. Here is told how Moctezuma sent a lord, a great nobleman, and still many other noblemen, in order that they go to meet the Spaniards; and that with which each gave salutations as they greeted the Captain between Iztactepetl and Popocatepetl.

And Moctezuma thereupon sent and charged the noblemen, whom Tziuacpopocatzin led, and many others besides of his henchmen, to go to meet [Cortés] between Iztactepetl and Popocatepetl, there in Quauhtechcac. They laid before them golden streamers, quetzal feather streamers, and golden necklaces.

And when they had given them the gift, they appeared to smile, to rejoice exceedingly, and to take great pleasure. Like monkeys they seized upon the gold. It was as if then they were satisfied, sated, and gladdened. For in truth they thirsted mightily for gold; they stuffed themselves with it, and starved and lusted for it like pigs.

And they went about moving the golden streamer back and forth, and showed it to one another, all the while babbling; what they said was gibberish.

And when they saw Tziuacpopocatzin, they said: "Is this one perchance Moctezuma?" They spoke to those who came with them, their spies, those of Tlaxcalla and Cempoalla. Thus in secret they questioned them. [These] said: "Not this one, O our Lords." This one was Tziuacpopocatzin, who was appearing in place of Moctezuma.

[The Spaniards] said to him: "Art thou perchance Moctezuma?" He replied: "I am your henchman; I am Moctezuma."

And these said to him: "Go thou hence. Why dost thou lie to us? Whom dost thou take us to be? Thou canst not fool us; thou canst not mock us. Thou canst not make us stupid, nor flatter us, nor become our eyes, nor trick us, nor misdirect our gaze, nor turn us back, nor destroy us, nor dazzle us, nor cast mud into our eyes, nor place a muddy hand over our faces. Thou art noh he. Now Moctezuma cannot hide from us. He cannot take refuge. Where can he go? [Is he] perchance a bird that he can fly? Or can he set out on his way under the earth? Is

Injc matlactli omume capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma, qujos ce tlacatl vei pilli: yoã oc cequjntin mjequjntin pipilti in qujnnamjqujto Españoles: yoan in tlein ic tlatlapaloque, injc qujtlapaloque Capitan, in jtzalan iztactepetl, yoan popocatepetl.

Auh in Motecuçoma: njmã ie ic qujmonjoa, qujmonjxquenza in pipilti, qujniacana in tzioacpopocatzin, yoan oc ceq'ntin cenca mjequjntin itechiuhcaoan cõnamjqujto, intzalan in popocatepetl, yoan iztactepetl, vncan in quauhtechcac, qujmõmacaque teucujtlapanjtl, quetzalpanjtl, yoã teucujtlaconecatl.

Auh in oqujmõmacaque iuhqujn yixvetzica, cenca papaquj, ahavia, iuhqujn cooçomatzitzquja in teucujtlatl, iuhqujn vncan motlatlalia, iuhqujn iiztaia, iuhq'n cecelia yiollo: ca nel iehoatl in cença camjquj, qujpoçaoa, qujteucivi, qujpitzonequj in teucujtlatl.

Auh in teucujtlapanjtl qujhiiauhtivitze, qujtlatlavitzotivitze, qujmoortititivitze, iuhqujn tlapopoloca, in tlein qujmolhuja in popolochcopa.

Auh in jquac oçujttaque Tzioacpopocatzin: qujtoque. Cujx iee hin in Motecuçoma: Qujmjlhujque, in intlan mantivitze in intlachixcaoan, in tlaxcalteca, cempoalteca, injc qujmõichtacatlatlanjque: conjtoque ca amo ie iehoatl totecujioane. Inin tzioacpopocatzin, qujmjxiptlatica in Motecuçomatzin:

qujlhujque. Cujx ie te in tiMotecuçoma? Conjto. Ca nehoatl in namotechiuhcauh in njMotecuçoma.

Auh njmã qujlhujque. Nepa xiauh, tleica in titechiztlacavia, ac titechmati, amo vel titechiztlacaviz, amo vel toca timocaisoaz, amo vel titechquamanaz, amo vel titechixmamatilos, amo vel titechichchinaz, amo vel titechixcuepaz, amo vel titechixpatiliz, amo vel titechtlacuepiliz, amo vel titechixpopoloz, amo vel titechixmjmjctiz, amo vel titechixçoqujviz, amo vel titechixçoqujmatocaz? amo tehoatl ca vnca in Motecuçoma, amo vel techneelatiliz, amo vel mjnaiaz? campa iaz? cujx tototi, cujx patlanja? cuj noço tlallan qujquetzaz yiovi, cujx cana ca tepetl

648 there somewhere a mountain pierced by a hole that
728 he may enter? For we shall see him; for we shall not fail to look into his face. We shall hear his words; we shall listen to that [which cometh] from his lips."

Thus they only despised and belittled him. Thus came only to nothing still another of their welcomes and greetings.

Then they hurried straight and took the road direct [to Moctezuma].

oninoquj yitic calaquja in tiqujttaznque, in amo maca ixco titlachiaznque, ticcaqujsque in jtlatol, itenco titlacaqujsque,

ic çan contelchiuhque, atle ipan coojttaque ic çan onnenpoliuh in oc çequj in intenamjc, in intetlapalol:

ic njmã qujoalmelauhtiveznque in melaoac vtli.

T: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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[726]

[728]

—*After Faso y Troncoso*

29. The road to Tenochtitlan is sown with maguey plants (Chapter 14). 30. Spaniards receive the submission of two of the Four Lords (Chapter 14). 31-36. Spaniards on the march from Itztapalapan to Tenochtitlan (Chapter 15).

[p.44(F)]

727 481 And all who lived in boats and [in houses] on poles, and those at Tolmayecan,[6] went into the water. On some, the water reached to the stomach; some, to the chest; and on some it reached to the neck. And some were all submerged, there in the deeps. Little chi[l]dren were carried on the backs [of their elders]; cries of weeping arose. Some went on happy and rejoicing as they traveled crowding on the road. And those who owned boats, all the boatmen, left by night, and even [continued to] leave all day. It was as if they pushed and crowded one another as they set out.

Auh in jxqujch acaltica onoca yoan in tlapechco catca, yoan in tolmaiecan çan atlan in iaque: in aca ixillan acitiuh in atl, in aca ielchiquipan, in aca iquechtlan acitiuh: auh in aca vel polaquj, in vncan vecatlan: in pipiltzintzinti temamalo, tlachoqujztlica: cequjnti mopapaquj[l]titivi, maavieltitivi: in oconnepanoto vtli Auh in acaleque, in jxqujch acale ça ioaltica in quja, yoã tel cenjlhujtl in qujxque iuhqujn moquequexttivi injc uè

727 And everywhere the Spaniards were seizing and robbing the people. They sought gold; as nothing did they value the green stone, quetzal feathers, and turquoise. [The gold] was everywhere in the bosoms or in the skirts of the wretched women. And as for the men, it was everywhere in their breech clouts and in their mouths.

Auh in jxqujcan antica tetlatlaçaltiaia in Españoles in teucujtlatl qujtemoa amo tle ipan qujtta, in chalchivitl, in quetzalli yoan in xivitl: novian nemja in inxilla in incuetitlan, in cioatzintzinti. Auh in toqujchtin novian nemj in imaxtlatitlan, yoan in incamac

And [the Spaniards] seized and set apart the pretty women — those of light bodies, the fair[-skinned] ones.[7] And some women, when they were [to be] assaulted, covered their faces with mud and put on old, mended skirts and rags for their thifts. They put all rags on themselves.

yoan qujmanaia, qujnpepenaia in Cioa in chipavaque, in Cuztic innacaio in cuztique. Auh in cequjntin cioa injc motetlaçaltiaia, mjçoqujvique, yoan tatapatli in qujmocuetiq tzotzomatli in qujmovipiltique, çan moch tzotzomatli in intech qujtlalique.

And also some men were singled out — those who were strong, grown to manhood, and next the young boys, of whom they would make messengers, who would be their servants, and who were known as their runners. And on some they burned [brand marks] on their cheeks; on some they put paint on their cheeks; on some they put paint on their lips.

Auh no cequjntin pepenaloque in toqujchtin iehoantin in chicaoaque in iniolloco oqujchtin yoã in qujn telpupuchtotonti in qujntitlanjzque, in intitlanvan iexque, in moteneoa intlamacaztacoan: cequjntin njmã qujncamatlatiq cequjntin qujncamaicujloque: cequjntin qujntenjcujloque.

And when the shield was laid down, when we gave way, it was the *year count* Three House and the day count was One Serpent.

Auh in omomã chimalli: injc tixitinque, in xiuhtonalli ei calli. Auh in cemjlhujtlapoalli ce coatl:

● 728 And when Quauhtemoc went to deliver himself, up, they then took him, after nightfall, to Acachinanco. And on the morrow, when already a little sun shone, once more the Spaniards, a good many of them, came forth likewise to put an end [to the fray] — girt for war, [in] iron corselets and iron helmets, but not with their iron swords nor their shields. They all only pressed white linen cloths against their noses as they passed by; [for] the dead sickened them; they already smelled foul and stank.

Auh in jquac in ômotemacato in Quauhtemoctzin: njmã quivicaque in acachinanco in ie ioa. Auh in jmuztlaioc in ie achiton tonatiuh, ie no ceppa valaque in Españoles: vel mjequjntin, no çan iuh tlantivitze, in moinuchichiu[h]tivitze, tepuevipilli, in tepuzquacalaladi: auh aoc tle in intepuzmaquauh, yoan aoc tle in inchimal, ça muchintin valmoiacapachoaque iztac canaoc ica qujntlaieltiaia in mjmjcque in ie iyaia, in ie potonj:

6. [illegible], *alt.*, translates Tolmayecan (Tolmayecan?) as probably the same as Ayauco.

7. Literally, of yellow bodies, the yellow ones.

Fortieth Chapter. Here is told how the men of Tlatilulco and Tenochtitlan and their leaders yielded to the Spaniards,[1] and what befell when they were among them.

Injc ompoalli capitulo vnca mjtoa in quenjn ie-hoantin tlatjlulca yoā tenuchca yoan in intlatocaiuh in intlan oncalacque Espanoles: auh in tlein muchiuh in jquac ie intlā cate./. 728

And when they had betaken themselves to bring him and disembark him, thereupon all the Spaniards came to see. They drew him along; the Spaniards took him by the hand. After that they took him up to the roof-top, where they went to stand him before the Captain, the war leader. And when they had proceeded to stand him before [Cortés], they looked at Quauhtemoc, made much of him, and stroked his hair. Then they seated him with [Cortés] and fired the guns. They hit no one with them, but only made them go off above, [so that] they passed over the heads of the common folk.[2] Then [some Mexicans] took and got into a boat and guided it there to the house of Coyoacuetzin.[3] And when they arrived, then they climbed up to the roof-top, whereupon once again they slew men and many died there. But [the Mexicans] only fled. With this the war reached its end.

Auh in oconaxitito in ocontlalhoacaquixtito: njman ie ic much vallachia in Españoles, quivalanque, imatitech quivalanque in Españoles njman ie ic quitlecavia in tlapanco ixpan conquetzato in Capitan in iautachcauh. Auh in oixpan conquetzato, njmā ie ic quitta, quimoottitia, quipepepetla in Quauhtemoctzin: njman ic itlan quitlalique yoan contlazque in tlequiquixtli, aiac ic quimotlaque, çan impan quiquixtique çan jmjcpac quiz in macevalti: njman ic cēteī convicaque, concalaquique in acalli: vmpa cōvicaque in jchan Coiovevetzin. Auh in oncique: njmā ic tlecoque in tlapanco: njman ie ic no ceppa temjctia ẽjec in vncan mjc: auh çā choloque, çan jc vmpolivito in iauiotl:

Then there was shouting; they said: "Enough! Let it end! Eat greens!" When they heard this, the common folk thereupon issued forth. On this, they went, even into the lagoon.

nec valtzatzioa: quitoa. Ie ixquich ma quixoa: xicmoqualtitin in quiltzintli: in oiuh quicacque in njman ie ic oneoa in macevalli: njman ie ic vi, çan atlan. 727

And as they departed, leaving by the great road, once more they there slew some,[4] wherefore the Spaniards were wroth that still some again had taken up their obsidian-bladed swords and their shields. Those who dwelt in house clusters went straightway to Amaxac; they went direct to where the ways divide. There the common folk separated. So many[5] went toward Tepeyacac, so many toward Xoxouiltitlan, so many toward Nonoalco. But toward Xolloco and toward Maçatzintamalco no one went.

Auh in oquiçato vei vtli ipan, ie no ceppa cequjn vmpa quinmjctia, ic qualīque in Españoles in oc no çan cequintin quitquj in immaquauh yoan inchimal: in calla onoca quivalmelauhque in amaxac vallamelaoa, in vncan vel vmaxac: vncan xexeliuh in macevalli, ixquich tepeiacac itztia, ixquich xoxouiltitlā itztia, ixquich nonoalco itztia. Auh in xollocopa, yoan in maçatzintamalcopa, aiac vmpa itztia.

1. Reproduce: the title is omitted in the MS.

2. Probably an artillery salvo, without projectiles; we know that Cortés used this system to impress the Indians. Perhaps this time it was to [illegible] over the end of the war (*quemasol conmemoración*, Rafael García Granados).

3. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 368, implies that they brought a cannon (*tiracon quemol*). What appears to be the corresponding Spanish text reads: *"quando este desmando salieron dos entraron de montantes y entraron en la casa de su principal que se llamava Coiouacuetzin."*

4. Corresponding Spanish texts: *"donde quedaron [illegible] segundo a algunos indios de los amigos de los españoles matandolos."*

5. So many: Bustillo, *ibid.* Cf., however, Seler, *op. cit.*

701 565 general[10] Coyoueuetzin; the commanding general Temilotzin; the army commander[11] Topantemoctzin; the chief justice[12] Auclitoctzin; the captain of the armies[13] Uitzilinitzin; the Tlacopan ruler Uitzitzin. All of these rulers were assembled at Toimayecan; they appeared to consult among themselves how this should be done: what we should offer as tribute, and how we should yield to [the Spaniards].

728 Thereafter only two [men] took Quauhtemoc in a boat. The two who took him and went with him were the seasoned warrior Teputzitoloc, and Yaztachimal, Quauhtemoc's page. And the one who poled [the boat] was named Cenyaotl.

And when they carried Quauhtemoc off, then there was weeping among all the common folk. They said: "Now goeth the young lord Quauhtemoc; now he goeth to deliver himself to the gods, the Spaniards!"

caxeccatl. Temjlotzin. Tlacochcalcatl. Topantemoctzin. Mixcoatlailotlactzin. Auclitoctzin, vitznaoatl. vitzilivitzin. tepanecatl vitzitzin: in nuchintin in tlatoque, in ocentlalliticatca tolmaiecan mononotztoca in quenjn nuchioaz in tlein tictequjtizque: auh in quenjn intlan toncalaqujzque.

Niman ie ic qujvica in Quauhtemoctzin, acaltica, çan ommote: vmĕtin in convicaque, itlan ietiaque. Teputzitoloc tequjoa, yoan Jaztachimal itoloua in Quauhtemoctzin. Auh ce qujtlanelhujtia itoca Cenjautl:

auh in jquac ie qujvica in Quauhtemoctzin: njmĕ ie ic mochoquilia in ixqujch macevalli qujtoque. Je iauh in tlacatl xococ in Quauhtemoctzin ie iauh qujnmomacaz in teteu in Españoles.

10. *Tlacochcalcatl.* Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *loc. cit.*

11. *Tlacatecatl.* Cf. Clark, *op. cit.*, I, fol. 65. The emblem is contained in the *Mexicanus Codex.*

12. *Mixcoatlailotlactzin.* Cf. Clark, *op. cit.*, fol. 68.

13. *Tepanecatl.* Cf. Chimalpahin, *op. cit.*, p. 242. Cervantes de Salazar, *op. cit.*, III, p. 288, mentions cupiles at the same time as Quauhtemoc of the ruler of Tacuba (Tlacopan); so does Ixtlilxochitl, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

All went forth afoot holding, by their capes, Quauhtemoc, Coanacotzin, and Tetlepanquetzatzin[9] — grasping only these three. [And also appeared] the ruler's vicar Tlacotzin, the lords' judge Petlauhtzin, the captain of the armies Motelchiuhtzin, the constable of Mexico, the lord priest Coatzin, the keeper Tlaçolyaotl — the men who guarded all the gold.

Then they went straightway to Atactzinco,[9] to the house of the chieftain and commanding general Coyoueuetzin. The Spaniards came in files; they stretched out in two rows, which went to their ends at a distance and extended far. And when they had reached the house of Coyoueuetzin, then they climbed up to the roof-top, on to a platform. Then they sat down. With a many-colored cloth they made a canopy for the Captain. Then the Marquis sat there, and with him stood Marina.

And Quauhtemoc was by the Captain. He had bound on the cape of quetzal feathers, each half of different color, with humming bird feathers, after the manner of those of Ocuillan. It looked soiled. He had only this. Then, after him, came Coanacotzin, ruler of Texcoco, who had bound on only a maguey fiber cape bordered with flowers and with a design of radiating flowers. It also seemed dirty. Then after him came Tetlepanquetzatzin, ruler of Tlacopan. He likewise was covered by a cape of maguey fiber, also very dirty — much soiled. Then, next, came the chief justice Auelitoctzin, and last walked Yopicatl Popocatzin, a prince. On the other side were the men of Tenochtitlan — Tlacotzin, Petlauhtzin, Motelchiuhtzin, the constable of Mexico, the lord priest Coatzin, and the keeper Tlaçolyaotl.[10]

muchintin vallaczipanvitiaque, qujvalqujtzqujtiaque itilmatiuch in Quauhtemoctzin, Coanacotzin, Tetlepanquetzatzin, çan icixtin valmaxtiaque. Auh in Cioacoatl tlacutzin: Tlillancalqui. petlauhtzin, vitznaoztl, motelchiuhtzin mexicatl. Achcauhtli, Tecutlamacazqui, Coatzin, tlaclati, tlaculiautl, in iehoantin in quipiaia in jxquich tetacujtlatl:

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njman vmpa tlamelauhque in atactzinco, in vncan ichan in tiiacauh in tlacuchcalcatl, in Coiovevetzin: pipilivi in Españoles, ie vmmecatl motilinja, veca tlantivi, veca acitivi: auh in oacito in jchã coiovevetzin, njmã ic tlecoque in tlapanco, in tlapechco: njman ic motlalique, tlatlapalquauhtli in quicevalcatique capitan, njmã ic oncã ommotlali in Marques, itlan ommotlali in Malintzin:

auh in Quauhtemoctzin itlan ca in Capitan: in quimolpilia quetzalichpeuxtli, tlatlacuhujtectli, vitztzilin hivio injc ocujllecaio, omuch cattaoac, çan quiacavitica: njmã contoquilitica in Coanacutzin, tetzcucu tlatoanj: in quimolpilitica, çan vel ichtilmatli, xoxochitcio, xochimoiaoac, omuch no cattaoac: njmã cõtoquilitica. Tetlepanquetzatzi, tlacuban tlatoanj, çã no iuhquj in quimolpilitica in ichtilmatli, ono vel cattactix, ouel cattaoac: njmã contoquilitica. Mixcoatlailotlac, avelitoctzin: tlatzacutica Jopicatl, pupucatzin, pilli: cectlapal onoque in tenochca. Tlacutzin. Petlauhtzin. Motelchiuhtzin mexicatl, achcauhtli, tecutlamacazqui, coatzintlatlati, Tlaculiautl.

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8. Rulers of Tlacopan and of the Texcocans, respectively, according to Bustamante, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

9. *"Donde ahora está edificada la iglesia de Santa Lucía, aquí en el Tlatelolco"* — Ixt. *ch.*

10. *Tlaculiautl*: the suffix is omitted in the MS. In this passage, *cuauhtlatlati* appears to be run together in the MS. Cf., however, Molina, *op. cit.*, and Simeon, *op. cit.* (*Atatlati*).

[p. 120 is blank]

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Forty-first Chapter, in which are told the words with which Don Hernando Cortés addressed the rulers of all the cities, here in Mexico, in Tezcoco, and in Tlacopan, when the shields had been stilled, and [how] he questioned them as to the gold which [the Spaniards] had in haste scattered there at the Tolteca canal, when they escaped and fled from Mexico.

Ihjc ompouallí ocn capitulo vncí nijtoa in tlatolli injc quinnonotz do hernando Cortes in jaquijchtin altepetl ipã tlatoque in nican Mexico: auh tetzcuco, tlacuba, in jquac ic cemonan chimalli, in quiztemelilia in cuitic teucujtlatl, in vncan quicenmanxiquijquc tulteca acalaco, in jquac quiquc, choloque mexico.

Then upon the Marquis, the Captain, addressed the rulers. He said to them: "What of the gold which was stored in Mexico?" On this, all the gold was taken from the boats — the golden banners, the golden conical caps, the golden arm bands, the golden bands for the calf of the leg, the golden hoods, the golden discs. All [these] they had laid out before the Captain, [and] indeed all of it the Spaniards had taken up.

Niman ie ic quinnonotza in Marques in Capitan in tlatoque: quimjlhuja. Catli in teucujtlatl? in omopiaia Mexico: niman ie ic vallaquijxtilo in acalco in jaquijch in teucujtlatl, in teucujtlapanjtl, in teucujtlacopilli, in teucujtlamatemecatl, in teucujtlacotevatl, in teucujtlaquacalaladli, in teucujtlacomalli: muchi ixpan contecaque in capitan, çã much ichoan in Españoles in vallaquijxtique:

Then, the Captain said: "Is this all the gold which was stored in Mexico? Have you brought all of it forth?" For our lords sought it diligently.

njman ie ic quijtoa in Capitan, çan ie inquijch in in teucujtlatl? in omopiaia Mexico, muchi anquijnextique? ca vel quijcemoa in totecujovan:

Then Tlacotzin spoke: "May our lord, the god, hear! That which was brought to our palace we walled up, all of it, with adobes. Did not, in truth, our lords take it all with them?"

Nimã ie ic ontlatoa in Tlacutzin. Tla quimocaquiti in totecujo in teutl, ca oipan maxitico in totecpan, ca much ticxxxantizcque, amo nel much quimotepalhique in totecujovan?

Then Marina said to him: "The Captain saith, 'It is so. We took all of it. All was gathered together, and all was marked. And they caused us to cast away all of it there at the Tolteca canal, there where they all set upon us. They must bring forth all!' "

njman quivalito in Malintzin, quimjtalhuja in Capitan, Quemaca ca much ticcujque, muchi omocentlali, yoan muchi omumachioti: auh ca much techtlaçaltique in vncã tulteca acaloco, much oncã techtepevaltique, much quinextizque:

Thereupon the ruler's vicar Tlacotzin answered: "May the god, the Captain, hear! The men of Tenochtitlan rise not [to battle] in boats; it is not their wont. Only the men of Tlatilulco have made it their way of doing. In boats they gave battle and set forth to stem the advance of our lords. Did not in truth those of Tlatilulco take it all?"

njmã ie ic tlananquijlia in Cioacoatl tlacutzin, tla quimocaquiti in teutl in Capitã. Ca vel acalco mocuetza in tenuchcatl, ca amo ichivil, ca çan incixcavil quichiuh in tlatilulcatl, in acaltica tlaicoque, in quinicatzacujlito in totecujovã amo nel ichoantin muchi quicuique in tlatilulca:

After this Quauhtemoc spoke and said to the ruler's vicar: "What dost thou say, O ruler's vicar? Even if the men of Tlatilulco took it, were not the guilty imprisoned therefore? Did they not produce all of it? Was it not gathered together at Texopan? And what took our lords with them [if] not this?" Quauhtemoc pointed to the gold with his finger.

njmã ie ic vallatoa in Quauhtemoctzin: quivalilhuj in Cioacoatl, tlein tiquitoa Cioacoatle: maço quicoj in tlatilulca, amo ic çaçaoque in tlamacolhque? amo muchi quincxtique? amo texopan in mocnchico? auh tlein ocommocujlique in totecujovan amo ichoatl in? ommapilhuj in teucujtlatl in Quauhtemoctzin:

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Then Marina spoke to him: "The Captain saith, 'Is this all?'"

Then the ruler's vicar spoke: "Perchance some commoner took it. But it will be sought; our lord the Captain will behold it."

Then once again Marina spoke: "The Captain saith, 'Ye will find all two hundred [pieces] of gold.'" She measured off [the size] with her hands; her hands described a circle.[1]

Again the ruler's vicar answered; he said: "Doubtless some poor woman put it in her skirt. It shall be sought out. He shall behold it."

Upon this the chief justice Auelitoczin spoke; he said: "May the lord, our lord Captain, hear! When Moteczuma yet was [alive], when somewhere there was to be a conquest, the men of Mexico and of Tlatilulco, the Tepaneca and the Acolhua, moved together. All the Tepaneca, all the Acolhua, and all the dwellers in the swamp lands — we set out together when we conquered. And when the city fell, thereupon all turned back. Each man returned to [his] city. And thereafter came the masters of the city, the conquered ones. They brought their tribute, which had become the goods of [the victors]: green stone, gold, quetzal feathers, and the other precious stones — fine turquoise; and blue cotinga feathers, and red spoonbill feathers. They offered this to Moctezuma. All together it reached there. All together, there to Tenochtitlan, came all the tribute, all the gold."

njmã quivalilhuj in Malintzin quimjtalhuja in capitan. Çan ie ixquich in?

njman ic conjto in cioacoatl, aço aca quixquixti in Macevalli, atel motlatemoliz, a quimottilia in totecujo in capitan:

njmã ie no ceppa quivalito in Malintzin, quimjtalhuja in Capitan Matlacpoalli anquinextiaque in tecujtlatl ixquich in: quivaltamachiuh imatica, quivalivallali in jma:

ie no ceppa ontlananquixti in civacoatl: quito. Aço ça aca ipan mocueti in civatzintli, a motemoliz, a quimottilia:

njman ie ic ontlatoa in Mixcoatlailotlac, avelitoczin: quito. tla quimocaquixti in tlacatl in totecujo in Capitan, in oc vnca Motecuçoma, in ixquac ontepevaloia cana, ca cemolinj in Mexicatl, in tlatilulcatl, in tepanecatl in aculhoa: in ixquich tepanecatl, in ixquich aculhoa yoan in ixquich chinampanecatl, ca ticcemolinj, in tontepeva: auh in onia altepetl, ca njmã ie ic valnecuepalo, cecenjaca cõmati in jmaltepeuh. Auh çatepan valhuj in altepevaque in ie pevalaca, quivalitquj in intlacalasquji, intlatquj valmuchiuhtiuh in chalchivitl in tecujtlatl, in quetzalli yoan in oc cequj tlaçotetl, in teuxivitl, in xiuhtototl, in tlauhquechol: quimmacaia in Motecuçoma, çan cẽ vmpa valaci, çã vmpa valmocemaci in tenochtitlan in ixquich tlacalasquili in tecujtlatl.

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "Dize una dicha Marina el señor capitan, dize que busquen dozientas barras de oro no mas grandes, como esta y señalaba con las manos, el grandor de una pauma de ancho."

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726 If the vanquished tribe found no such point of refuge, then the pursuit continued without relenting until the town or settlement itself was reached. Frequently both pursuers and pursued entered it almost at the same time. The torch was applied to the temple first, and an indiscriminate slaughter of non-combatants began.[169]

728 Nothing short of speedy submission to tribute could arrest this butchery. The vanquished, therefore, if not prepared to flee from their homes forever,[170] made signals of peace. A parley ensued, and to it succeeded a surrender on the part of the defeated tribe. Generally one year of tribute was paid in advance, and thus the Mexicans might return homewards loaded, both with the spoils acquired on the battlefield and with the first guarantee of future contributions from the vanquished tribe.[171]

726 It sometimes occurred, however, that the tribe attacked had provided its settlement with artificial defenses, and the Mexicans, victorious in the open field, found themselves in presence of the simple fortifications, which we shall hereafter describe, like palisades or even platforms of earth or stone surmounted by parapets. An attack upon these was only attempted if there appeared no doubt as to the result, in consequence of the superiority of the Mexicans, or of the great losses sustained by their defenders in the previous fights.[172] Then, but only then, ladders were con-

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[169] The "teo-calli" or temple being in the centre of the settlement, and also its highest, and therefore, according to Indian notions, its strongest edifice, the destruction thereof by fire was the signal of decisive victory of the assailants. See Tezozomoc (Cap. XIX, pp. 30 and 31). Durán (Cap. XV, p. 129).

[170] In cases where the pueblo of the enemy had been completely deserted, either through flight of its inhabitants, or through their extermination, as was the case with Alahuitzlan, these sections were repeopled by colonies from Nahuatl stock. Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXIV, pp. 125 and 126) and Durán (Cap. XLV, p. 364, etc.) both relate in detail how it occurred. This may account in some degree for the presence of Nahuatlac stock at a distance from the valley, and may yet throw some light even upon the singular colonization of the Peruvian "Mitimaes."

[171] This suing for peace, where the tribe was of foreign stock-language, took place, sometimes through interpreters, "nahuatlats," sometimes merely by signs. The defeated generally fled to the top of a hill and from there beckoned to the pursuing Mexicans to stop the carnage, with humble and pitiful gestures. But the first parley did not always result in peace. The massacre of women and children recommenced often twice, ere the tribute offered by the vanquished satisfied the Mexicans. This tribute was exacted in proportion to the resistance offered and to the resources of the tribe. After peace was agreed upon the Mexicans still feasted from the food of those whom they had ruthlessly conquered. The prisoners, once taken, were never released nor exchanged. They had to carry the spoils and tribute to Mexico, but were generally well fed and cared for until the day when they were slaughtered to the idols.

[172] A good illustration is found in Tezozomoc (Caps. XC and XCI), describing the foray against Tututepec and Quetzaltepec. But Durán is still more explicit on the same events. According to him (Cap. LVI, p. 547), after the unfortified pueblo of Tu-

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174 in the lagune, they were confined to their original area and to such
648 artificial garden-beds as they accumulated around it. Meanwhile their allies on the mainland, the Tecpanecas, were making themselves formidable in warfare to the other tribes; the Mexicans assisting. The moment arrived however, when the latter, having secured a defensive position, acquired military experience and greater strength, sought to free themselves from the tax which had heretofore burthened their trade and barter. War ensued, and the Mexicans, now in turn supported by enemies of the Tecpanecas, completely overthrew the power of the latter tribe. By this victory, they not only secured a foothold on the mainland, but became at once one of the ruling tribes of the western valley of Mexico.[54]

728 The only territorial accession gained by the Mexicans, in fact the only one claimed by them, appears to have been the hill of Chapultepec. They already had the use of the springs rising there, now they acquired their full and unincumbered possession.[55] The remainder of Tecpanecan territory was left to that tribe intact, and in no manner annexed to that of Mexico. The organization of the tribe, its government, and distribution of the soil, remained equally undisturbed. No Mexican representatives were delegated to rule Azcaputzalco or Cuyuacan. But the Mexicans in turn subsequently controlled the military power of the conquered tribe, and, besides, it was thereafter held to tribute. This

[54] Durán (Cap. IX and X). Tezozomoc (Cap. VII. VIII. IX. X. XI. XII. XIII. XIV and XV). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XIII and XIV). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XII and XIII). Ixtlilxochitl (Hist. des Chichim.," Cap. XXX, XXXI and XXXII). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. XXXV, XXXVI and XXXVII). Veytia (Lib. II, cap. I, LI. LII. LIII and LIV). Clavigero (Lib. III, cap. XVII, XVIII and XIX). Bustamante (Part I. cap. XXIII). Prescott ("History of the Conquest of Mexico," Book I, cap. I. pp. 15 and 18).

721 [55] It is even stated that the petition of the Mexicans for stone and wood to construct therewith a channel leading from Chapultepec to their pueblo, was the cause of the war. See Durán (Cap. VIII, p. 63). Tezozomoc (Cap. V, pp. 11 and 12). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 476. "Con esta ocasion, ora sea que ellos de propósito lo buscassen, para romper con los Tepanécas, ora que con poca consideracion se moviessen, al efecto embiaron una embaxada al Rey de Azcapuzalco muy resoluta diziendo, que del agua que los auia hecho merced, no podian aprovecharse, por auerseles desbaratado el caño por muchas partes, por tanto le pedian los proviniésse de madera, y cal, y piedra, y embiasse sus oficiales que con ellos hiziessen un caño de cal y canto que no se desbaratasse.") Chapultepec remained specifically Mexican soil thereafter, it being the source of fresh water for the pueblo of Mexico. When Cortés moved against the tribe the second time, he seized the hill after a short but desperate struggle. (Cortés "Carta Tercera." p. 71, Védia I. Bernal-Diez, cap. CL, p. 176, Vedia II. Clavigero, Lib. X. cap. XVII). See also Icazbalceta, in his Introduction to the 3d Dialogue of Cervántes-Salazar ("Mexico in 1554," pp. 236 and 237). Veytia (Lib. III, cap. I, p. 142, of 3d vol.). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los ult. Tiempos." Parte IIa, cap. I, p. 148).

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tribute was gathered by stewards, the only Mexicans permanently residing on Tecpanecan soil, and it was distributed in accordance with the tribal organization: among the calpules for the use of their public households and of their individual members, and to the "tecpan" for the maintenance of the tribal government and business; out of the former, a certain share was reserved for the purpose of religious worship.[56]

This tribute consisted of objects held and acquired by the Tecpanecas through trade, war and their own manufacture. But it also included the products of their *horticulture*. These had to be raised annually either on their own garden-beds, or on a certain expanse reserved in each "calpulli" for the production of tribute. The Tecpanecas having the same system of distribution of the soil as the Mexicans, and the hundred group being the unit of their organization also, the latter method was naturally resorted to. Therefore in each one of the areas held by the calpules of the conquered tribe, a certain plot was set off, to be tilled in common by the members of the kin, for the benefit of their conquerors.

[56] Acosta says (Lib. VII, cap. XIII, p. 483), that they took all the lands for themselves: "with this, those of Azcapuzalco were left so poor, that they had not even crops of their own." Durán (Cap. IX, p. 79. "They went to Azcapuzalco and seized ('se entregaron') its lands and distributed them among themselves.") Tezozomoc (Cap. IX, p. 16 and 17). It is difficult to connect these and similar statements with the positive facts asserted by Zurita (Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle Espagne.") "The sovereign of Mexico had beneath him, in all matters relating to warfare, those of Tacuba and of Tezcuco; in regard to all others, their powers were equal, so that neither of them intervened in the government of the others" (p. 11),—by Veytia (Lib. III, cap. III, p. 161), and even by Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim.," Cap. XXXIV; p. 235), which establish the complete *territorial* independence of the Tecpanecas from the Mexicans; even after their defeat. Durán also says (Cap. IX, p. 77): that the Tecpanecas promised tribute and lands. Tezozomoc (Cap. IX, p. 16) confirms, stating that they offered tribute, personal service, and assistance in war. We cannot coecilliate these different reports except by admitting that the Tecpanecas submitted to the ordinary manner of Indian conquest, namely: to tribute, to military aid, and for the purpose of tribute, to the reservation of certain tracts whose crops were to go exclusively to the conquerors. Of the latter we have positive proof. See Durán (Cap. IX, p. 79). Tezozomoc (Cap. IX, p. 17). Only these authors mention that these tracts went to persons or individuals. But how is this possible, since no individual possession of land appears in Mexico, at the time of the conquest even; as we shall see further on. The tracts in question must, therefore, have been given to such persons as representatives of certain kinships, or "calpules," as Tezozomoc intimates, saying (Cap. XV, p. 21): "and let us distribute the lands among all of us, in order to hold of them some pastime and sustenance for us, our children and heirs." Besides, Durán asserts: that the division took place for the benefit of the chiefs, and of the quarters ("barrios," or calpules), which tends to prove that there were "official lands" and "lands of the kinship" set off for the conquerors on the conquered territory. That a portion of the latter provided for religious purposes, is established by Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XIII, p. 485), and by Durán (Cap. IX).

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651 The crops raised thereon were again apportioned by the latter among themselves as we have explained previously, but they did not acquire any title to the *possession*, still less to the *ownership* of the soil itself.[37] Once started on their career of conquest, the

728 [37] See Durán (Cap. IX. p. 79 and 80). Tezozomoc (Cap. IX, p. 16. "Para amansar y traher á paz á los Mexicanos que tan pujantes y orgullosos estavan contra los Tecpanecas, digéron estos: señores Mexicanos, como vencidos que somos de vosotros, y os tenemos dadas nuestras hermanas y hijas que os sirvan y nuestras mugeres, y nos proferimos á vasallage, y de todas las veces que fuéredes en guerras y batallas con estrañas, irémos nosotros como vasallos, y llevarémos á cuestas vuestro matalotage, y llevarémos á cuestas vuestras armas, y en caso que en las guerras, algunos, ó alguno de los Mexicanos muriere, nos proferimos á traheros los cuerpos cargados á vuestra tierra, ciudad, á ser con honra enterrados, y venidos que seais de las guerras, y antes y despues barrerémos, y regarémos, vuestras casas, tendrémos cuidado de vosotros con nuestro servicio personal, pues así estamos obligados conforme á usanza de guerra, y nosotros de servidumbre." The Mexicans then spoke to themselves and said: "you now have heard the promises, subjection, and domination to which the Tecpanecas of Ascaputzalco submit, offering to give us wood, planking, stones and lime for our houses, to plant for us maize, beans, calabashes, spices of the country, chile, and tomate, and to be our servants, and the principals of them to become our stewards . . . .") This expresses about the amount and measure of subjection of one tribe to another. Zurita further informs us (pp. 66 and 67). "When the Kings of Mexico, Tezcuco and Tacuba conquered a province, they used to retain all the native chieftains in their offices; whether they were supreme or but inferior. The people always kept its property, finally the usages and customs of the established government were respected. These sovereigns designated territories proportionate to their conquests: the vanquished tilled them in common and made plantings appropriate to the soil. This kind of tribute, or homage ("homage-lige"), was paid to officers ("des intendants") established by the sovereigns of Mexico, of Tezcuco, or Tacuba, according as the vanquished had become vassals of one or of the other prince. Besides, they were liable to military service, which obligation rested indiscriminately on all the conquered provinces. The chiefs remaining Lords as before the war, preserved civil and criminal jurisdiction in the full extent of their domain." Nevertheless, we have detailed reports about certain lands having been applied by the Mexicans to certain chiefs (Tezozomoc, cap. XV, p. 24): it was done at the time that such chiefs received certain titles or dignities. These titles and dignities, however, were not hereditary, but elective (Durán, cap. XI, p. 103). "To these four chiefs and titularies, after they were elected princes) they made them belong to the royal council as presidents and members ("oydores") of the supreme council, without whose opinion (or consent, advice "parecer") nothing could be done, and the King being dead, from these and no others his successor had to be chosen, and neither could they be placed in such positions unless they were sons or brothers of Kings, and thus, if one of these four had been promoted, they put another one in his place, and it is to know that they never chose a son of him whom they elected for King, or of him who died, because as I have said, the sons did not obtain the titles through inheritance, but by election. Thus, whether son, brother, or cousin, if the King and his council elected him to any title, it was given to him,—it being sufficient that he belonged to that lineage and was a near relative, and thus the sons and brothers went succeeding little by little, and the title and Lordship remained in that generation (descendancy), being elected successively. These Lords had vassals who to them paid tribute, small pueblos, rented lands ("estancias terrazgueros") that gave them all kinds of supplies and clothing . . . . ." It is also stated that the Mexicans, when they conquered the Tecpanecas, distributed *of* their lands to the quarters (Cap. IX. p. 79. Durán,—and Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. XIII, p. 460. "Señalaron tambien tierras de comun para los barrios de Mexico a cada uno las suyas, para que con ellas acudiesen al culto y sacrificio de sus dioses.")

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Mexicans, supported by their allies, sought to extend their power. The tribes of the southeast, the Xochimilcas, the Chinampanecas, (also called the four chieftaincies: "Nauhteuctli") were the first to become their prey. Their fate, after they had once submitted, was the same as that of the Tecpanecans. The territory was not annexed, neither was the organization changed. But they were held to military assistance, and especially to tribute. The latter drew forth, as a consequence, the establishment of tribute-lands, like those which we have already met with at the close of the Tecpanecan war.[58]

When finally, after a contest of unusual length and bitterness, the tribe of Chalco also had to submit to the same conditions of tribute and warlike control,[59] — the Mexicans were really the leading power of the valley.[60] Their means of subsistence, besides, had greatly increased through tribute, among which the crops of the tribute-lands were most conspicuous — as well as through trade. One single tribe of the "Nahuatl" of the valley remained unsubdued, the Aculhuas of Tezcuco. Instead, however, of engaging in a deadly conflict, the result of which might have been equally

If we attentively consider the above, we find:

(1). That no change was made in the tenure of lands, and no conversion of the Tecpanecan territory into a Mexican domain was effected by the conquest.

(2). That certain expanses were set aside, which continued to be held by the conquered, and worked by them after the usual communal plan, but whose crops went exclusively towards the *tribute*.

(3). That these crops were divided, corresponding to the organization of the Mexicans, — between the official requirements — ("tecpan" —) ("calpulli" as official house for the quarters) — the people (quarters "barrios,") and worship. The analogy with Peru (Inca, worship and people), is striking.

The distribution of lands to certain chiefs therefore, mentioned in connection with the conquest of the Tecpanecas, simply indicates that these lands were applied to the maintenance of such offices, and not an hereditary "fief" to a certain family. Durán positively expresses, that the office belonged in the "kin" ("lignea" — "generacion,") and was not hereditary. The lands therefore pertained to the office as a governmental feature of the kinship or calpulli, and not to the person or offspring of any incumbent. In the same way, certain tracts (or rather their crops), went to the tecpan or its occupants, as a governmental feature of the *tribe* (Bustamante, Parte III cap. V, p. 233).

[58] Durán (Cap. XII. Id. XIII, p. 114. XIV, p. 122). Tezozomoc (Cap. XVII, p. 28, XVIII, p. 29), and Acosta.

[59] Durán (Cap. XVII, p. 132). Tezozomoc (Cap. XXVI, pp. 39 and 40). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 468), etc. etc.

[60] Out of the five Nahuatl tribes who had originally settled in the valley of Mexico, three were then subjected to the Mexicans. Consequently the Tezcucans or Aculhuacans alone remained. Territorially, the latter probably covered the larger expanse, but the Mexicans and their allies had the advantage in position and numbers.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

631 of social organization. The confederacy of tribes, as we have
648 already shown, carried no influence whatever on the organization.

no era menor señor el Caconci de Mechuacan, y otros que reconoscian al uno ni al otro." We quote this passage merely as a general illustration.

Fray Bernardino de Sahagun. Historia general de las Cosas de Nueva-España, published by Sr. C. M. de Bustamante, in 1829 (Vol. II. lib. VIII. cap. III. p. 276), "El cuarto señor de Tezcoco se llamó Netzahoalcoiotzin, y reinó setenta y un años, y en tiempo de este se comenzaron las guerras, y tuvo el señorio de Tezcoco siendo señor del de México Itzcoatzin, y estos entrambos hicieron guerra á los de Tecpaneca, de Atzcapotzalco, y á otros pueblos y provincias, y el fué fundador del señorio de Tezcoco in Acolhuacan." (Id. Vol. III. lib XII. cap. XLI, page 59, close of chapter.)

Fray Diego Durán. Historia de las Yndias de Nueva España é Islas de Tierra Firme. Published by Sr. José Fernandez Ramirez at Mexico, in 1867, (Cap. XIV, p. 123). "El rey Itzcoatl, aunque mal dispuesto, holgó de la victoria y dió las gracias á todos los señores y principales, al qual, agravándosele la enfermedad, entendiendo de se acertarsele la muerte, mandó llamar al Señor de Tezcuco, Neçahualcoyotl, pariente cercano suyo, y aconsejóle que no tuviese guerra con los Mexicanos, sus parientes y amigos, sino que antes se hiciese con ellos y fuese eh su favor siempre: y dexó ordenado que desde en adelante fuese de Tezcuco el segundo rey de la comarca y el tercero el de Tacuba, á quien llamauan el rey de Tlalnecpan. . . ." (p. 124). ". . . y solo estos tres reynos mandaron y governaron la tierra, de hoy en adelante, siendo el de México sobre todos ellos, y casi como emperador y monarca del nuevo mundo." Nearly the whole of Cap. XV is devoted to the formation of the confederacy, but cannot be inserted here. The editor, Sr. J. F. Ramirez, appears to incline to the opinion, however, that there was a confederacy on equal terms, (note 2, p. 130). The same author also-
[796] states repeatedly that the head-chiefs of Tezcuco and Tlacopan sacrificed (slaughtered) captives at the chief teo-calli of Mexico, on very solemn occasions, together with the head-chief of Mexico, thus showing equal rights. (Cap. XXIII, p. 197 and others.) But his plainest statement is found (Cap. XLIII, p. 317), and reads as follows: "Algunos han querido decir que el reyno de Tezcuco era libre de todo reconocimiento y parias al monarca, y que en nada le era sujeto, lo qual alio al contrario en esta ystoria Mexicana; porque aunque á la verdad no tributauan á Mexico mantas ni joias ni plumas ni cosas de comida, como otras provincias tributauan, hallo empero á los Mexicanos metidos en las tierras tezcucanas donde sembraban y cogian, y algunos dellos hechos terrazgueros de los señores de México; y allo que en ofreciéndose estas fiestas y solenbidades, daban tributo deesclanos para ella, de lo qual ninguno estaua esento ni reservado. Tambien allo que ofreciéndose dar guerra á alguna ciudad y provincia, al primero que llamauan y acudian para que apercibiese sus gentes, era al rey de Tezcuco, y como abemos, notado en esta ystoria, le hacian venir á Mexico todas las veces que se ofrecia ocasion, loqual no era poca sujecion, dado que tuviese sus préeminencias y libertades de rey y señor de aquella provincia de Acolnacan; . . ."

Fernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc. Crónica Mexicana. (9th Vol. of Lord Kingsborough's "Antiquities of Mexico.") This author agrees so closely with Durán in most instances, that we can dispense with full quotations. See Cap. XIX and XX, on the pretended conquest of Tezcuco by the Mexicans. Tezozomoc is very positive on the question of joint sacrifice (Cap. LXIX. p. 117). A singular remark is, however, found (Cap. XCVII. p. 173). After the Huexotzincas had sent delegates to Mexico to sue for
[728] peace, the Mexican council was called together: "dijo zihuacoatl resoluto: Senor, como será esto, si no lo saben vuestros consegeros de guerra los reyes de Acolhuacan-Nezahualpilli, y el de Tecpanecas Tlaltecatzin? hagase entero cabildo y acuerdo: fue acordado asi." This important incident shows that not even the Mexicans had the right to treat alone with a power hostile to the three tribes, consequently that the other two were their *confederates*, and *not their feudal vassals*. Fray Durán confirms the incident in chapter LX, p. 473, of his work, precedingly quoted.

Joseph de Acosta, Historia natural y moral de las Indias, Madrid, 1608, derives his information from the same source as the two preceding, namely: the Codex Ramí